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Revision 9.

PROPOSED DISARMAMENT PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

This document consists of a program by which the nations of the world could achieve a substantial reduction in their national armaments and armed forces. It is a program that is intended to be an elaboration or a modification of the United States Program for General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World which was presented to the United Nations on September 25, 1961.

The program is based on the concept that immediate progress is necessary in the reduction and control of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles. The program recommends that progress be initiated in this area immediately and among only those countries which have in their possession or on their territory large numbers of these strategic delivery vehicles. The program then proceeds through a series of stages to include other weapons and other countries which must be included in order to have a disarmament program to encompass all weapons and all nations of the world.

The program presented in this document attempts to bridge the inspection dilemma through the technique of

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zonal area inspection. It assumes that the degree of inspection required and the amount of intrusion into national territories and internal affairs would be equitably related to the amount of disarmament achieved and would be kept to a minimum consistent with the need for effective verification of the disarmament program.

The program attempts, furthermore, to avoid tying initial progress in disarmament to proposals which could not be achieved immediately under present political conditions. It separates the strategic nuclear threat from conventional reductions in order to minimize at the outset problems of balance and timing.

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SUMMARY OF THE DISARMAMENT PROGRAM

1. A preliminary stage (Stage A) in which bilateral US-USSR destruction of strategic delivery vehicles will take place during the process of negotiations as a tender of earnestness of intent. Territorial inspection will not be involved during this preliminary stage.

2. A Stage B during which the strategic delivery vehicles of the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact will be reduced by more than half to bilateral parity and will constitute a substantial reduction of the threat of general nuclear war. Further reductions in strategic delivery vehicles will be carried out in later stages and will be accompanied by reductions in other forms of military power. Also in Stage B, a cutoff of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes will be effected. All countries involved will be subject to localized inspection of key production facilities, to periodic and temporary inspection of transportation centers to inspection of the agreed reductions, and to limited territorial inspection necessary to provide adequate verification of the declared and reduced levels and of limitations on production.

3. A Stage C in which the participation will be further broadened to include the Asian and Pacific allies

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of the United States and of the Soviet Union. In this stage:

a) Strategic delivery vehicles will be further reduced to a point where imbalances in other forms of military power could become dangerous to national security.

b) Consequently, balanced reductions in other armaments will have to be achieved, primarily through control over material.

c) The territory open to inspection in each participating country will be further extended.

d) The role to be assigned to a permanent United Nations Peace Force, and its political direction, composition and strength will be determined.

4. A Stage D in which the disarmament plan will be extended to all countries of the world. In this stage:

a) All armaments of all countries will be reduced.

b) The U.N. peace-keeping machinery will be established and progressively strengthened.

c) States will also agree upon further improvements and developments in rules of international conduct and in processes for peaceful settlement of disputes and differences.

5. Stages E and F in which all national forces and armaments will be progressively reduced to agreed numbers required for the maintenance of internal order.

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The peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations will become sufficiently strong and the obligations of all states under such arrangement sufficiently far-reaching so as to assure peace and the just settlement of differences in a disarmed world.

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TEXT OF THE DISARMAMENT PROGRAM

Stage A

At the outset of the negotiations the U.S. will deposit in U.N. designated hands 30 medium jet bombers to be destroyed when matched by the U.S.S.R. with an equal number of medium jet bombers similarly deposited for destruction. During the negotiations, the U.S. will continue to deposit 30 medium jet bombers each month on the same terms, provided the U.S.S.R. does likewise. Planes will be destroyed under U.N. supervision.

This destruction will continue until Stage B goes into effect. However, if the negotiations for Stage B continue for more than one year the destruction rate will be reduced in the second year to one-half, and at the end of the second year destruction will be discontinued.

If agreement on the implementation of Stage B is not reached by January 1, 1964 the various provisions of this plan will be subject to modification or withdrawal.

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Stage B

I. Territorial Scope and Duration

The measures in Stage B will apply to the members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The duration of Stage B will be two years.

II. Disarmament Measures

1. The strategic armaments of NATO and of the Warsaw Pact will be progressively reduced to 1,000 strategic delivery vehicles each. The following will be considered as strategic delivery vehicles:

- a) All missiles with designed range capability of more than 300 km., whether the launching platform is on the surface, under the surface, in the air, or in space;
- b) All combat airplanes over 15,000 kg. (or 25,000 kg.) empty weight.

Within the quota of 1,000 there will be no restriction on the number of any particular type of vehicles at the end of Stage B.

2. The location and characteristics of all AICBV systems will be declared and such systems will be deployed only by agreement.

3. Production of strategic delivery vehicles will be limited to the extent that for each new vehicle produced

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one will be destroyed and that advance notice must be given as to such production.

4. The production of fissionable materials for use in weapons will be stopped in the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and other NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.

III. Method of Reduction

1. Stage B will be divided into three periods of 8 months. During the first period, a number of strategic delivery vehicles will be eliminated which will be equal to one-third of the difference between the initially declared number and 1,000. This elimination will be in addition to the destruction under paragraph II.3 above. The eliminated vehicles will be sequestered, i.e., transferred to depots in national territory of the sequestering country which will be under the surveillance of the other group of countries.

2. During the second period, the vehicles sequestered in the first period will be progressively destroyed. A new set of vehicles, determined similarly, will be sequestered, and will be progressively destroyed during the third period; similarly, a new set of vehicles will be sequestered in the third period and progressively destroyed in the first 8 months of Stage C.

IV. Inspection

1. Before the beginning of Stage B the U.S. and each of the other NATO countries, and the U.S.S.R. and each

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of the other Warsaw Pact countries will each divide itself into 12 zones.

2. Each NATO and Warsaw Pact country will declare by zones at home and in other NATO or Warsaw Pact countries:

- a) The total number by type and model of strategic delivery vehicles it possesses;
- b) The location of key production facilities for such vehicles, of production facilities for fissionable materials, and of nuclear power plants;
- c) The number of strategic delivery vehicles aboard all ships, including submarines.
- d) The location and capabilities of airfields and ports (both on the sea and on inland waterways).

In addition, numbers and types of any of the above items not in any of the zones will also be declared.

3. Inspectors of one side will be stationed in the countries of the other side at key production facilities for strategic delivery vehicles and at key fissionable material plants, including nuclear power plants, in all zones. These inspectors will be given access to the production lines and the records of current and past production, including total production figures.

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4. Each side will be allowed to station inspectors temporarily at all airfields and ports declared under 2.1 and at major railway and highway centers crossing zone boundaries until inspection under No. 8 below gets underway. Inspectors will be permitted to conduct an adequate inspection of all aircraft and ships in ports and rail and highway vehicles in order to verify the number of strategic delivery vehicles contained thereon.

5. NATO will choose a zone in each country of the Warsaw Pact, and the Warsaw Pact will choose a zone in each country of NATO.

6. As soon as a zone is selected, the host country will declare for the selected zone the location, type and number of strategic delivery vehicles.

7. After a zone has been selected for inspection no strategic delivery vehicles will be shifted to or from that zone until inspection under No. 8 below gets underway; thereafter shifts to or from that zone will be permitted provided sufficient notice is given.

8. Inspectors will be placed immediately in the zones chosen. They will have complete and unhindered access within each zone, through mobile inspection, aerial photography and other means, adequate for the purpose of ascertaining for both declared and undeclared strategic delivery vehicles.

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for undeclared production facilities as well as declared production facilities for such vehicles and for fissile materials, and for undeclared as well as declared nuclear power plants. Zones once selected will remain subject to inspection, including mobile and aerial, at any time.

9. After 3 months, each country will make a declaration under IV.2 above, noting any changes. The Commission will select new zones for inspection, and the inspection process will be repeated. The same will be done once again after 16 months.

V. Transition

1. If Stage C should not directly follow Stage B, the parties may:

- a. free themselves of the obligations undertaken in Stage B either immediately or after a specified period of time;
- b. agree to continue or modify the obligations of Stage B in accordance with the inspection procedure outlined in IV above;
- c. agree to implement parts of Stage B as may be agreed.

2. The disarmament agreement will determine the extent to which the commitments to be fulfilled in Stage

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would be altered in the event that violations of the treaty occur during Stage B.

3. Negotiations for Stage C by all states, the participation of which is required for Stage C, will be started no later than at the beginning of Stage B.

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Stage C

I. Territorial Scope and Duration

The duration of Stage C will be two years. The measures in Stage C will apply to the U.S. and its allies in Europe, Asia, and the Pacific as well as Canada, and to the U.S.S.R. and its allies in Europe and Asia, including the People's Republic of China.^{1.}

II. Disarmament Measures

1. The strategic delivery vehicles of both sides will be reduced to 500 each.

2. The placing into orbit or stationing in outer space of weapons capable of producing mass destruction will be prohibited. States will give advance notification to participating states of launchings of space vehicles and missiles, together with the track of the vehicle. Tests of missiles and space vehicles, and the launching of space vehicles, will continue under inspection by the other side.

3. Fissionable material production for weapons will stop in all countries included in Stage C. Agreed

1. Allies of the Soviet Union to be included in Stage C, in addition to those in Stage B are: The People's Republic of China, the Mongolian People's Democratic Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of North Korea. Allies of the United States to be included in Stage C, in addition to those in Stage B are: Republic of China, Republic of Korea, Japan, Thailand, the Philippines, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand.

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quantities of fissionable material will be transferred from nuclear weapons to peaceful uses. States possessing technology or materials necessary to produce nuclear weapons will undertake not to transfer such technology or materials for the purpose of producing nuclear weapons to states not now producing such weapons.

4. States participating in Stage C that have not acceded to a treaty effectively prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons will do so.

5. Quotas will be set on numbers of weapons within the following selected categories of major armaments as between the two sides. These categories are as follows:

- a) Missiles with ranges from 50 km. to 300 km.
- b) Tanks, armored cars and personnel carriers.
- c) Artillery pieces, mortars and rocket launchers of all types exceeding 100 mm. in caliber and not included under a) and b) above.
- d) Combat aircraft of empty weight between 2,500 kg. and 15,000 kg. (or 25,000 kg.)
- e) Naval vessels of 500 tons standard displacement or larger in the following types: aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines.

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The quotas to be set in each category will be determined by negotiation. They will be chosen so as to invite substantial reductions (for instance of the order of 25%) in armaments by both sides. Higher numbers accorded to one side in one category will be balanced by higher numbers for the other side in another category. Such imbalance in categories will be subject to change in subsequent stages.

6. Production of strategic delivery vehicles and other armaments specified in paragraph 5 will be limited to the extent that for each new vehicle or weapon produced, one will be destroyed, and provided further that advance notice be given as to such production.

7. States will give advance notification to the participating states of major military movements and maneuvers, on a scale as may be agreed, which might cause alarm or give rise to misinterpretation of intent. The notification will include the geographic areas to be used and the nature, scale and time span of the event.

8. Any AICBM systems will be deployed only by agreement.

III. Method of Reduction

1. Stage C will be divided into three periods of 8 months.
2. At the beginning of Stage C each country

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participating in that Stage will declare by zones at home and in other participating countries:

- a) The total number of the various categories of armaments subject to reduction in Stage C which it possesses;
- b) The location of key facilities for the production of these armaments and for the production of fissionable materials, and the location of nuclear power plants;
- c) The location and capabilities of airfields and ports (both on the sea and on inland waterways).

In addition, numbers and types of any of the above items not in any of the zones will also be declared.

3. Quotas in each category will be determined for each side in accordance with the procedure outlined above.

Within each category, one third of the difference between the declared level and the agreed quota of each side will be sequestered in each of three eight-month periods. Those sequestered in the first period will be destroyed in the second period; those sequestered in the second period will be destroyed during the third period; and those sequestered during the third period will be destroyed in the first eight months of Stage D.

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IV. Inspection

1. The same general principles apply as in Stage B, except that all countries specified in I above and armaments and production facilities specified in II and III above will also be included.
2. Each side will choose one of the remaining nine zones of each of the countries of the other side which have participated in Stage B for inspection in the first period. The same will be done in each of the succeeding periods. Countries added in Stage C will also be divided into 12 zones and each side will choose two zones for inspection in each period. Zones once selected will remain subject to inspection including mobile and aerial, at any time.
3. Each side will have unlimited access to documents pertaining to the budgetary allocations of the other side for military purposes.

V. Transition

1. During Stage C, the role to be assigned to a permanent United Nations Peace Force and its political direction, composition, and strength will be determined.
2. During Stage C, and as a prerequisite for Stage D, an agreement will be reached on the composition and functions of an International Disarmament Organization.
3. During Stage C agreements will be reached on

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needed improvements and developments in rules of international conduct, in processes for peaceful settlement of disputes and for the solution of major political issues through peaceful change. These agreements will deal with such matters as submission of legal disputes to the International Court of Justice, empowering of United Nations peace observation groups to enter any area in which a threat to peaceful relations between nations is developing, and measures to prevent or suppress indirect aggression and subversive activities against any state or government.

4. If Stage D should not directly follow Stage C, the parties may:

- a) free themselves of the obligations undertaken in Stage C either immediately or after a specified period of time;
- b) agree to continue or modify the obligations of Stage C in accordance with the inspection procedure outlined in 1;
- c) agree to implement parts of Stage , as may be agreed.

5. The disarmament treaty will determine the extent to which the commitments, fulfilled in Stage B and those to be fulfilled in Stage C, would be altered in the event that violations of the treaty occur during Stage C.

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6. Negotiations for Stage D by all States, the participation of which is required for Stage D, will be started no later than at the beginning of Stage C.

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Stage D

I. Territorial Scope and Duration

The duration of Stage D will be two years. The measures in Stage D will apply to all the countries of the world.

II. Disarmament Measures

1. The strategic delivery vehicles of the U.S. and its allies in Europe, Asia and the Pacific as well as Canada, and of the U.S.S.R. and its allies in Europe and Asia, including the People's Republic of China, will be further reduced to agreed low levels. Strategic delivery vehicles of other countries will be reduced to agreed upon levels.

2. Other armaments of all countries will be adjusted to agreed low levels.

3. The armed forces of all states will be reduced to agreed levels. Compulsory military training and refresher training of reserve forces will be limited.

4. There will be further agreed restrictions on the production of armaments.

5. Fissionable material production for weapons will stop in all countries newly included in Stage I. Agreed additional quantities of fissionable material will be transferred from nuclear weapons to peaceful use.

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States possessing technology or materials necessary to produce nuclear weapons will undertake not to transfer such technology or materials for the purpose of producing nuclear weapons to states not now possessing such technology or materials. States not now owning nuclear weapons will undertake not to develop or manufacture them or to obtain control of the use of those belonging to other states. States not possessing such technology or materials will undertake not to seek or receive such technology or materials for the purpose of producing nuclear weapons. States that have not acceded to a treaty effectively prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons will do so.

6. Any AICBM systems will be deployed by a country only by agreement.

7. Production of CBR weapons will be halted and existing stocks will be destroyed. This measure will be conditional on the prior determination and putting into effect of adequate methods for policing the prohibition of CBR weapons.

III. Method of Reduction

1. Stage D will be divided into three periods of eight months.

2. At the beginning of Stage D each country will make a declaration similar to that provided for in Stages I

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and C. In addition, each country will declare by zones at home and in all other countries the number of persons and divisions in its armed forces, and the facilities for the production of chemical, biological, and radiological weapons. The method of reduction of these armaments will be similar to that described in Stages B and C.

IV. Inspection

1. An International Disarmament Organization (IDO) will be established within the framework of the U.N. upon entry into force of Stage D, and the bilateral inspection organizations of the previous stages will be coordinated by, and later incorporated in, this Organization. The IDO will verify the execution of all disarmament obligations and will help ensure compliance with them. In particular, it will supervise sequestration and destruction of weapons.

2. The International Disarmament Organization will choose one of the remaining six zones of each of the countries which have participated in Stage C for inspection in the first period. The same will be done in each of the succeeding periods. Countries added in Stage D will also be divided into 12 zones and the International Disarmament Organization will choose three zones for inspection in each period. Zones once selected will remain subject to inspection.

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including mobile and aerial, at any time.

V. United Nations Peace Force

1. The U.N. Peace Force will be created.
2. Those national armaments which may be utilized by the U.N. Peace Force in this stage will be transferred to it without compensation; those which will be needed by the Force after Stage D will be put in depots under international supervision.

VI. Peace-Keeping Processes

All countries will implement the agreements concluded in Stage C concerning the needed improvements and developments in rules of international conduct and in processes for peaceful settlement of disputes and for the solution of major political issues.

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Stage E.

I. Duration

The duration of Stage E will be two years.

II. Disarmament Measures

1. All national armaments and forces will be further reduced.
2. There will be further agreed restrictions on the production of armaments.
3. Further agreed quantities of fissionable material will be transferred from nuclear weapons to peaceful uses or destroyed.

III. Method of Reduction

The method of reduction will be similar to that applied in previous stages.

IV. Inspection

The International Disarmament Organization will choose one of the three remaining zones in each country for inspection in the first period. The same will be done in each of the succeeding periods. Zones once selected will remain subject to inspection, including mobile and aerial, at any time.

V. United Nations Peace Force

The U.N. Peace Force will be strengthened.

VI. Peace-Keeping Processes

Further improvements will be made in international peace-keeping processes and institutions.

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Stage F

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The progressive steps to be taken during the final Stage F of the disarmament program will be directed toward the attainment of a world in which:

1. All national forces and armaments will be reduced to agreed numbers required for the maintenance of civil order.
2. The manufacture of armaments will be prohibited except for those of agreed types and quantities, to be used by the U.N. Peace Force and those required to maintain internal order.
3. Permanent inspection of production and other facilities will be withdrawn and will be replaced by inspection of such facilities at random intervals.
4. The peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations will be made sufficiently strong and the obligations of all countries under such arrangement sufficiently far-reaching so that they will be able to maintain peace and ensure the just settlement of differences in a disarmed world.

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